HIS MAIESTIES SPEACH IN THIS *laſt Seſſion of Parliament, as* neere his very words as could be gathered at the inſtant.

Together with a diſcourſe of the maner of the diſcouery of this late intended Treaſon, ioyned with the Examination of ſome of the priſoners.

¶ *Imprinted at London by Robert* Barker, Printer to the Kings moſt Excellent Maieſtie.

ANNO 1605.

THE PRINTER TO the Reader.

Auing receiued (*gentle Reader*) *the copie of the Kings last Speach to the Parliament as neere to the life of his owne wordes, as they could bee gathered; And being about to commit them to the Presse, as I did his former, There is presently comen to my handes a discourse of this late intended most abhominable Treason against his Maiestie and the whole State. And because that a great*

part of his Maiesties Speach was grounded vpon that fearefull accident, whereof this Discourse doeth make an ample declaration; I haue thought it would not bee vnpleasing vnto thee to ioyne them together in the Presse. And so leauing thee to make thy best vse of both, I bid thee heartily farewell.

HIS

HIS MAIESTIES SPEACH IN THIS *last Session of Parliament, as* neere his very words as could be gathered at the instant.

MY *Lords Spirituall* and Temporall, and you the Knights and Burgesses of this Parliament, It was farre from my thoughts till very lately before my comming to this place, that this Subiect should haue beene ministred vnto mee, whereupon I am now to speake. But now it so falleth out, That whereas in the preceding Session of this Parliament, the principall occasion of my

my Speech was, to thanke and congratulate all you of this Houſe, and in you, all the whole Common-wealth (as being the repreſentatiue Body of the State) for your ſo willing, and louing receiuing and embracing of me in that place, which God and Nature by deſcent of blood, had in his owne time prouided for me: So now my ſubiect is, to ſpeake of a farre greater Thankeſgiuing then before I gaue to you, being to a farre greater perſon, which is to GOD, for the great and miraculous Deliuery he hath at this time granted to me, and to you all, and conſequently to the whole Body of this Eſtate.

I muſt therefore begin with this old and moſt approoued Sentence of Diuinitie, *Miſericordia Dei ſupra omnia opera eius.* For Almighty God did not furniſh ſo great matter to his glory by the Creation of this great World, as hee did by the Redemption of the ſame. Neither did his Generation of the little world in our old and firſt ADAM, ſo much ſet forth the praiſes of God in his Iuſtice and Mercy, as did our Regeneration in the laſt and ſecond ADAM,

And now I muſt craue a little pardon of you, That ſince Kings are in the word of GOD it ſelfe called Gods, as being his Lieutenans and Vicegerents on earth, and ſo adorned and furniſhed with ſome ſparkles of the Diuinitie; To compare ſome of the workes of God the great King, towards the whole and generall world, to ſome of his workes towards me, and this little world of my Dominions, compaſſed and ſeuered by the Sea from the reſt of the Earth. For as God for the iuſt puniſhment of the firſt great ſinnes in the original world, when the ſonnes of God went in to the daughters of men, and the cup of their iniquities of all ſorts was filled, and heaped vp to the full, did by a generall deluge and ouerflowing of waters, baptize the world to a generall deſtruction, and not to a generall purgation (onely excepted NOAH and his family, who did repent and beleeue the threatnings of Gods iudgment:) So now when the world ſhall waxe olde as a garment, and that all the impieties and ſinnes that can be deuiſed againſt both the firſt and ſecond Table, haue and ſhall be committed

to the full measure; God is to punish the world the second time by Fire, to the generall destruction and not purgation thereof. Although as was done in the former to NOAH and his family by the waters; So shall all we that beleeue be likewise purged, and not destroyed by the Fire. In the like sort, I say, I may iustly compare these two great & fearefull doomes-dayes, wherwith God threatned to destroy mee and all you of this little world that haue interest in me. For although I confesse, as all mankinde, so chiefly Kings, as being in the higher places like the high Trees, or stayest Mountaines, and steepest Rockes, are most subiect to the dayly tempests of innumerable dangers; and I amongst all other Kings haue euer been subiect vnto them, not onely euer since my birth, but euen as I may iustly say, before my birth, and while I was yet in my mothers belly: yet haue I been exposed to two more speciall and greater dangers then all the rest.

The first of them, in the Kingdome where I was borne, and passed the first part of my life: And the last of them here, which is the greatest.

greatest. In the former I should haue beene baptized in blood, and in my destruction not onely the Kingdome wherein I then was, but ye also by your future interest, should haue tasted of my ruine. Yet it pleased God to deliuer mee, as it were from the very brinke of death, from the point of the dagger, and so to purge me by my thankfull acknowledgement of so great a benefite. But in this, which did so lately fall out, and which was a destruction prepared not for mee alone, but for you all that are here present, and wherein no ranke, age, nor sexe should haue been spared; This was not a crying sinne of blood, as the former, but it may well be called a roaring, nay a thundring sinne of Fire and Brimstone, from the which God hath so miraculously deliuered vs all. What I can speake of this, I know not: Nay rather, what can I not speake of it? And therefore I must for horror say with the Poet, *Vox faucibus hæret.*

In this great and horrible attempt, where- Three miraculous euents be to be obserued in the Attempt.
of the like was neuer either heard or read, I obserue three wonderfull, or rather miraculous euents.

1. The crueltie of the Plot.

Firſt, in the crueltie of the Plot it ſelfe, wherein cannot be enough admired the horrible and fearefull crueltie of their Deuice, which was not only for the deſtruction of my Perſon, nor of my Wife and Poſteritie only, but of the whole Body of the State in generall; wherein ſhould neither haue been ſpared, or diſtinction made of yong nor of olde, of great nor of ſmall, of man nor of woman: The whole Nobilitie, the whole Reuerend Clergie, Biſhops and moſt part of the good Preachers, the moſt part of the Knights and Gentrie; yea and if that any in this Societie were fauorers of their Profeſsion, they ſhould all haue gone one way: The whole Iudges of the land, with the moſt of the Lawyers and the whole Clerkes: And as the wretch himſelfe that is in the Tower, doth confeſſe, it was purpoſely deuiſed by them, and concluded to be done in this houſe; That where the cruell Lawes (as they ſay) were made againſt their Religion, both place & perſons ſhould all be deſtroyed and blowen vp at once. And then conſider therewithall the cruell fourme of that practiſe: for by three different ſorts in generall

Three wa'es how mankinde may [illegible] to death.

generall may mankinde be put to death.

The first, by other men, and reasonable creatures, which is least cruell: for then both defence of men against men may be expected, and likewise who knoweth what pitie God may stirre vp in the hearts of the Actors at the very instant? besides the many wayes and meanes, whereby men may escape in such a present furie. 1. By Man.

And the second way more cruel then that, is by *Animal* and vnreasonable creatures: for as they haue lesse pity thē men, so is it a greater horror and more vnnaturall for men to deale with them: But yet with them both resistance may auaile, and also some pity may be had, as was in the Lyons, in whose denne *Daniel* was throwen; or that thankfull lyon, that had the Romane slaue in his mercy. 2. By vnreasonable creatures.

But the third, which is most cruell and vnmercifull of al, is the destruction by insensible and inanimate things; and amongst them all, the most cruell are the two Elements of Water and Fire; and of those two the Fire most raging and mercilesse. 3. By insensible things.

Secondly, how wonderfull it is when you shall 2. The small ground the Conspirators had to moque them.

ſhall thinke vpon the ſmall, or rather no ground, whereupon the Practiſers were entiſed to inuent this Tragedy. For if theſe Conſpirators had only bene bankrupt perſons, or diſcontented vpon occaſion of any diſgraces done vnto them; this might haue ſeemed to haue beene but a worke of reuenge. But for my owne part, as I ſcarcely euer knew any of them, So cannot they alledge ſo much as a pretended cauſe of griefe: And the wretch himſelfe in hands doeth confeſſe, That there was no cauſe mouing him or them, but meerly and only Religion. And ſpecially that chriſtian men, at leaſt ſo called, Engliſhmen, borne within the Countrey, and one of the ſpecials of them my ſworne Seruant in an Honourable place, ſhould practiſe the deſtruction of their King, his Poſterity, their Countrey and all: Wherein their following obſtinacie is ſo ioyned to their former malice, as the fellow himſelfe that is in hand, cannot be moued to diſcouer any ſignes or notes of repentance, except onely that hee doeth not yet ſtand to auow, that hee repents for not being able to performe his intent.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, the discouery hereof is not a little wonderfull, which would bee thought the more miraculous by you all, if you were aswel acquainted with my naturall disposition, as those are who bee neere about me. For as I euer did hold Suspition to be the sicknes of a Tyrant, so was I so farre vpon the other extremity, as I rather contemned all aduertisements, or apprehensions of practises. And yet now at this time was I so farre contrary to my selfe, as when the Letter was shewed to me by my Secretary, wherein a generall obscure aduertisement was giuen of some dangerous blow at this time, I did vpon the instant interpret & apprehend some darke phrases therein, contrary to the ordinary Grammer construction of them, (and in another sort then I am sure any Diuine, or Lawyer in any Vniuersitie would haue taken them) to be meant by this horrible forme of blowing vs vp all by Powder; And thereupon ordered that search to be made, whereby the matter was discouered, and the man apprehended: whereas if I had apprehended or interpreted it to any other sort of danger, no worldly prouision or

3. Miraculous euent, the discouerie.

preuention

preuention could haue made vs escape our vtter destruction.

And in that also was there a wonderfull prouidence of God, that when the party himselfe was taken, he was but new come out of his house from working, hauing his Fireworke for kindling ready in his pocket, wherwith as he confesseth, if hee had been taken but immediatly before when hee was in the House, hee was resolued to haue blowen vp himselfe with his Takers.

One thing for my owne part haue I cause to thanke GOD in, That if GOD for our sinnes had suffered their wicked intents to haue preuailed, it should neuer haue been spoken nor written in ages succeeding, that I had died ingloriously in an Ale-house, a Stews, or such vile place, but mine end should haue been with the most Honourable and best company, and in that most Honourable and fittest place for a KING to be in, for doing the turnes most proper to his Office; And the more haue Wee all cause to thanke and magnifie GOD for this his mercifull Deliuery. And specially I for my part, that hee

hath

hath giuen mee yet once leaue, whatsoeuer should come of mee hereafter, to assemble you in this Honourable place; And here in this place, where our generall destruction should haue bene, to magnifie and praise him for Our generall deliuery; That I may iustly now say of mine Enemies and yours, as DAVID doeth often say in the Psalme, *Inciderunt in foueam quam fecerunt.* And since SCIPIO an Ethnick, led onely by the light of Nature, That day when he was accused by the TRIBVNES of the people of ROME for mispending aud wasting in his *Punick* warres the Cities Treasure, euen vpon the sudden brake out with that diuersion of them from that matter, calling them to remembrance how that day, was the day of the yeere, wherein God had giuen them so great a victory against HANNIBAL, and therfore it was fitter for them all, leauing other matters, to run to the Temple to praise God for that so great deliuery, which the people did all follow with one applause: How much more cause haue wee that are Christians to bestow this time in this place for Thankes-giuing to God for his

great Mercy, though wee had had no other errant of assembling here at this time? wherein if I haue spoken more like a Diuine then would seeme to belong to this place, the matter it selfe must plead for mine excuse: For being here commed to thanke God for a diuine worke of his Mercy, how can I speake of this deliuerance of vs from so hellish a practise, so well as in language of Diuinitie, which is the direct opposite to so damnable an intention? And therefore may I iustly end this purpose, as I did begin it with this Sentence, *The Mercie of God is aboue all his workes.*

It resteth now that I should shortly informe you what is to be done hereafter vpō the occasion of this horrible & strange accident. As for your part that are my faithfull and louing Subiects of all degrees, I know that your hearts are so burnt vp with zeale in this errant, and your tongues so ready to vtter your duetifull affections, and your hands & feet so bent to concurre in the execution thereof, (for which as I neede not to spurre you, so can I not but praise you for the same:) As it may very well be possible that the zeale of your hearts shall

make

make some of you in your speaches rashly to blame such as may bee innocent of this attempt; But vpon the other part I wish you to consider, That I would be sory that any being innocent of this practise, either domesticall or forraine, should receiue blame or harme for the same. For although it cannot be denied, That it was the onely blind superstition of their errors in Religion, that led them to this desperate deuice; yet doth it not follow, That all professing that *Romish* religion were guilty of the same. For as it is true, That no other sect of heretiques, not excepting *Turke*, *Iew*, nor *Pagan*, no not euen those of *Calicute*, who adore the deuill, did euer maintaine by the grounds of their Religion, That it was lawfull, or rather meritorious (as the *Romish* Catholicks call it) to murther Princes or people for quarrel of Religion. And although particular men of all professions of Religion haue been some Theeues, some Murtherers, some Traitors, yet euer when they came to their end and iust punishment, they confessed their fault to be in their nature, & not in their profession; (These *Romish* Catholickes onely

excepted:) Yet it is true on the other side, That many honeſt men blinded peraduenture with ſome opinions of Popery, as if they be not ſound in the queſtions of the *Real preſence*, or in the number of the Sacraments, or ſome ſuch Schoole-queſtion: yet do they either not know, or at leaſt not beleeue all the true grounds of Popery, which is in deed *The myſterie of iniquitie*. And therefore do we iuſtly conteſſe, that many Papiſts, eſpecially our fore fathers, laying their onely truſt vpon CHRIST and his Merits at their laſt breath, may be, and often times are ſaued; deteſting in that point, and thinking the cruelty of Puritanes worthy of fire, that wil admit no ſaluation to any Papiſt. I therefore thus doe conclude this point, That as vpon the one part many honeſt men, ſeduced with ſome errors of Popery, may yet remaine good and faithfull Subiects: So vpon the other part, none of thoſe that truly know and beleeue the whole grounds, and Schoole cõcluſions of their doctrine, can euer proue either good Chriſtians, or faithfull Subiects. And for the part of forraine Princes and States, I may ſo much the

more

more acquite thē, & their Miniſters of their knowledge and conſent to any ſuch villanie, as I may iuſtly ſay, that in that point I better know al Chriſtian Kings by my ſelfe, That no King nor Prince of honor wil euer abaſe himſelfe ſo much, as to thinke a good thought of ſo baſe and diſhonorable a Treachery, wiſhing you therfore, that as God hath giuen me an happie Peace and Amitie, with all other Chriſtian Princes my neighbors (as was euen now very grauely told you by my L. Chauncellor) that ſo you will reuerently iudge and ſpeake of them in this caſe. And for my part I would wiſh with thoſe ancient Philoſophers, that there were a Chriſtall windowe in my breſt, wherein all my people might ſee the ſecreteſt thoughts of my heart, for then might you all ſee no alteration in my minde for this accident, further then in theſe two points. The firſt, Caution & warines in gouernment; to diſcouer & ſearch out the myſteries of this wickednes as farre as may be: The other, after due triall, Seueritie of punihment vpon thoſe that ſhalbe found guilty of ſo deteſtable and vnheard of villany. And now in this mat-

ter if I haue troubled your eares with an abrupt ſpeach, vndiſgeſted in any good methode or order; you haue to conſider that an abrupt, and vnaduiſed ſpeach doeth beſt become in the relation of ſo abrupt and vnorderly an accident.

And although I haue ordained the proroguing of this Parliament vntill after Chriſtmas vpon two neceſſary reſpects: whereof the firſt is, that neither I nor my Councel can haue leiſure at this time both to take order for the Apprehenſion and triall of theſe Conſpiratours, and alſo to wayt vpon the dayly affaires of the Parliament, as the Councell muſt doe. And the other reaſon is, the neceſsitie at this time of diuers of your preſences in your Shires that haue Charges and Commandements there. For as theſe wretches thought to haue blowen vp in a maner the whole world of this Iſland, euery man being now commed vp here, either for publike cauſes of Parliament, or elſe for their owne priuate cauſes in Law, or otherwiſe: So theſe Rebls that now wander through the Countrey, could neuer haue gotten ſo fit a time of ſafety in their paſ-

ſage,

sage, or whatsoeuer vnlawful Actions, as now when the Country by the foresaid occasions is in a manner left desolate, and waste vnto them. Besides that, it may bee that I shall desire you at your next Session, to take vpon you the Iudgement of this Crime: For as so extraordinary a Fact deserues extraordinary Iudgement, So can there not I thinke (following euen their owne Rule) be a fitter Iudgement for them, thē that they should be measured with the same measure wherewith they thought to measure vs: And that the same place and persons, whom they thought to destroy, should be the iust auengers of their so vnnaturall a Parricide: Yet not knowing that I wil haue occasion to meet with you my selfe in this place at the beginning of the next Session of this Parliament, (because if it had not bin for deliuering of the Articles agreed vpon by the Cōmissioners of the Vnion, which was thought most conuenient to be done in my presence, where both Head & Members of the Parliament were met together, my presence had not otherwise bene requisite here at this time:) I haue therefore thought good

for

for concluſion of this Meeting, to diſcourſe to you ſomewhat anent the true nature and definition of a Parliament, which I will remit to your memories till your next ſitting down, that you may then make vſe of it as occaſion ſhall be miniſtred.

For albeit it be true, that at the firſt Seſsion of my firſt Parliament, which was not long after mine Entry into this Kingdome, It could not become mee to informe you of any thing belonging to Lawe or State heere: (for all knowledge muſt either bee infuſed or acquired, and ſeeing the former ſort thereof is now with Prophecie ceaſed in the world, it could not be poſsible for me at my firſt Entry here, before Experience had taught it me, to be able to vnderſtand the particular myſteries of this State:) yet now that I haue reigned almoſt three yeeres amongſt you, and haue beene carefull to obſerue thoſe thinges that belong to the office of a King, albeit that Time bee but a ſhort time for experience in others, yet in a King may it be thought a reaſonable long time, eſpecially in me, who, although I be but in a manner a new King here, yet haue beene

long

long acquainted with the office of a King in such another Kingdome, as doth accrest of all others agree with the Lawes and customs of this State? Remitting to your consideration to iudge of that which hath been concluded by the Commissioners of the Vnion, wherein I am at this time to signifie vnto you, That as I can beare witnesse to the foresaid Commissioners, that they haue not agreed nor cõcluded therein any thing, wherin they haue not foreseen as well the weale and commoditie of the one Countrey, as of the other; So can they all beare me record, that I was so farre from pressing them to agree to any thing, which might bring with it any preiudice to this people; as by the contrary I did euer admonish them, neuer to conclude vpon any such Vnion, as might cary hurt or grudge with it to either of the sayd Nations: for the leauing of any such thing, could not but bee the greatest hinderance that might be to such an Action, which God by the lawes of Nature had prouided to be in his owne time, and hath now in effect perfected in my Person; to which purpose my Lord Chancellour hath

better spoken, then I am able to relate.

And as to the nature of this high Court of Parliament; It is nothing else but the Kings great Councell, which the King doeth assemble either vpon occasion of interpreting, or abrogating old Lawes, or making of new, according as ill maners shall deserue, or for the publike punishment of notorious euill doers, or the praise and reward of the vertuous and well deseruers; wherein these foure things are to be considered.

1 First, whereof this Court is composed.
2 Secondly, what matters are proper for it.
3 Thirdly, to what end it is ordeined.
4 And fourthly; what are the meanes and wayes whereby this ende should bee brought to passe.

As for the thing it selfe, It is composed of a Head and a Body: The Head is the King, the Body are the members of the Parliament. This Body againe is subdiuided into two parts; The Vpper and Lower House: The Vpper compounded partly of Nobility, Temporall men, who are heritable Councellors to the high Court of Parliament by the honour

of

of their Creation and Lands: And partly of Bishops, Spirituall men, who are likewise by the vertue of their place and dignitie Councellours, Life Renters, or *Ad vitam* of this Court. The other House is composed of Knights for the Shire, and Gentry, and Burgesses for the Townes. But because the number would be infinite for all the Gentlemen and Burgesses to bee present at euery Parliament, Therfore a certaine number is selected and chosen out of that great Body, serving onely for that Parliament, whose their persons are the representation of that Body.

Now the matters whereof they are to treat ought therefore to be generall, and rather of such matters as cannot well be performed without the assembling of that generall Body, and no more of these generals neither, then necessity shall require: for as *in Corruptissima Republica sunt plurimæ leges*: So doeth the life and strength of the Law consist not in heaping vp infinite and confused numbers of Lawes, but in the right interpretation and good execution of good & wholsome Lawes. If this be so then, neither is this a place on the

one side for euery rash and harebrained fel-
low to propone newe Lawes of his owne in-
uention: nay rather I could wish these busie
heads to remember that Law of the Lacede-
monians, That whosoeuer came to propone
a new Law to the people, behooued publike-
ly to present himselfe with a rope about his
necke, that in case the Law were not allowed,
he should be hanged therewith. So warie
should men be of proponing Nouelties, but
most of all not to propone any bitter or sedi-
tious Lawes, which can produce nothing but
grudges and discontentment betweene the
Prince and his people. Nor yet is it on the o-
ther side a conuenient place for priuate men
vnder the colour of generall Lawes, to pro-
pone nothing but their owne particular gaine,
either to the hurt of their priuate neighbours,
or to the hurt of the whole State in generall,
which many times vnder faire and pleasing
Titles, are smoothly passed ouer, and so by
stealth procure without consideration, that
the priuate meaning of them tendeth to no-
thing but either to the wracke of a particular
partie, or else vnder colour of publike bene-

fite to pill the poore people, and ſerue as it were for a generall Impoſt vpon them for filling the purſes of ſome priuate perſons.

And as to the end for which the Parliament is ordeined, being only for the aduancement of Gods glory, and the eſtabliſhment and wealth of the King and his people: It is no place then for particular men to vtter there their priuate conceipts, nor for ſatisfaction of their curioſities, and leaſt of all to make ſhew of their eloquence by tyning the time with long ſtudied and eloquent Orations. No, the reuerence of God, their King, & their Countrey being well ſetled in their hearts, wil make them aſhamed of ſuch toyes, and remember that they are there as ſworne Councellors to their King, to giue their beſt aduiſe for the furtherance of his Seruice, and the floriſhing Weale of his Eſtate.

And laſtly, if you will rightly conſider the meanes and wayes how to bring all your labours to a good end, you muſt remember, That you are here aſſembled by your lawfull King to giue him your beſt aduiſes, in the matters propoſed by him vnto you, being of

that nature, which I haue already told, wherin you are grauely to deliberate, and vpon your conſciences plainely to determine how farre thoſe things propounded do agree with the weale, both of your King and of your countrey, whoſe weales cannot be ſeparated. And as for my ſelfe, the world ſhal euer beare me witneſſe, That I neuer ſhall propone any thing vnto you, which ſhall not as well tend to the weale publike, as to any benefite for me: So ſhall I neuer oppone my ſelfe to that, which may tend to the good of the Commonwealth, for the which I am ordeined, as I haue often ſaid. And as you are to giue your aduiſe in ſuch things as ſhall by your King be propoſed: So is it on your part your duties to propone any thing that you can after mature deliberation iudge to be needfull, either for theſe ends already ſpoken of, or otherwiſe for the diſcouery of any latent euill in the kingdome, which peraduenture may not haue commen to the Kings eare. It this then ought to bee your graue maner of proceeding in this place, Men ſhould bee aſhamed to make ſhew of the quickneſſe of their

wits

witts here, either in taunting, ſcoffing, or detracting the Prince or State in any point, or yet in breaking ieſts vpon their fellowes, for which the Ordinaries or Alehouſes are fitter places, then this Honourable and high Court of Parliament.

In concluſion then ſince you are to breake vp, for the reaſons I haue already told you, I wiſh ſuch of you as haue any charges in your Countreys, to haſten you home for the repreſsing of the inſolencies of theſe Rebels, and apprehenſion of their perſons, wherein as I heartily pray to the Almighty for your proſperous ſucceſſe: So doe I not doubt, but we ſhall ſhortly heare the good newes of the ſame; And that you ſhall haue an happy returne, and meeting here to all our comforts.

Here the Lord Chancellor ſpake touching the proroguing of the Parliament. And hauing done, his Maieſtie roſe againe, and ſaid.

Since

Since it pleased God to graunt mee two such notable Deliueries vpon one day of the weeke, which was Tuesday, and likewise one day of the Moneth, which was the fifth; Thereby to teach me, That as it was the same deuill that still persecuted me; So it was one and the same GOD that still mightily deliuered me: I thought it therefore not amisse, That the one and twentieth day of Ianuary, which fell to be vpon Tuesday, should be the day of meeting of this next Session of Parliament, hoping and assuring my Selfe, that the same GOD, who hath now granted me and you all so notable and gracious a Deliuerie, shall prosper all our affaires at that next Session, and bring them to an happy conclusion. And now I consider God hath well prouided it that the ending of this Parliament hath bin so long continued; For as for my owne part, I neuer had any other intention, but only to seeke so farre my weale, and prosperitie, as might coniunctly stand with the flourishing State of the whole Common-wealth, as I haue often tolde you: So on the other part I confesse, if I had bene in your places at the beginning

ginning of this Parliament, (which was so soone after mine entry into this Kingdome, wherein yee could not possibly haue so perfect a knowledge of mine inclination, as experience since hath taught you,) I could not but haue suspected, and mis-interpreted diuers things, In the trying whereof, now I hope, by your experience of my behauiour and forme of gouernment, you are well ynough cleared, and resolued.

**

A DISCOVRSE OF THE MANER of the discouery of this late intended Treason, ioyned with the Examination of some of the Prisoners.

There is a time when no man ought to keepe silence. For it hath euer beene helde as a generall rule, and vndoubted Maxime, in all well gouerned Common wealths (whether Christian, and so guided by the diuine light of Gods word; or Ethnicke, and so led by the glimmering twi-light of Nature) yet howsoeuer their profession was, vpon this ground haue they all agreed, That when either their Religion, their King, or their countrey was in any extreme hazard, no good Countreyman ought then to withhold

either his tongue or his hand, according to his calling and facultie, from ayding to repell the iniurie, represse the violence, and auenge the guilt vpon the authors therof. But if euer any people had such an occasion ministred vnto them, It is surely this people now, nay this whole Isle, and all the rest belonging to this great and glorious Monarchy. For if in any heathenish republique, no priuate man could thinke his life more happily and gloriously bestowed, then in the defence of any one of these three, That is, either *pro Aris, pro Focis*, or *pro Patre patriæ*; And that the endangering of any one of these, would at once stirre the whole body of the Common wealth, not any more as diuided members, but as a solide and indiuidual lumpe: How much more ought wee the truely Christian people that inhabite this Vnited and truely happy Isle, vnder the wings of our gracious and religious Monarch? Nay, how infinitely greater cause haue wee to feele & resent our selues of the smart of that wound, not onely intended and execrated (not consecrated) for the vtter extinguishing of our true Christian profession,

Insula fortunata.

on,

on, nor ioyntly therewith onely for the cutting off of our Head and father Politike, *Sed vt nefas istud & sacrilegiosum parricidium omnibus modis absolutum reddi posset*? And that nothing might bee wanting for making this sacrilegious parricide a patterne of mischiefe, and a crime (nay, a mother or storehouse of all crimes) without example, they should haue ioyned the destruction of the body to the head, so as *Grex cum Rege, Aræ cum focis, Lares cum Penatibus*, should all at one thunderclap haue bene sent to heauen together: The King our head, the Queene our fertile mother, and those yong & hopeful Oliue plants, not theirs but ours: Our reuerend Clergie, our honourable Nobilitie, the faithfull Counsailors, the graue Iudges, the greatest part of the worthy Knights and Gentry, aswell as of the wisest Burgesses; The whole Clerkes of the Crowne, Counsaile, Signet, Seales, or of any other principall Iudgement seate. All the learned Lawyers, together with an infinite number of the Common people: Nay, their furious rage should not onely haue lighted vpon reasonable and sensible creatures with-

out distinction either of degree, sexe or age; But euen the insensible stockes and stones should not haue bene free of their fury. The hall of Iustice; The house of Parliament; The Church vsed for the Coronation of our Kings; The Monuments of our former Princes; The Crowne and other markes of Royaltie; All the Records, aswell of Parliament, as of euery particular mans right, with a great number of Charters and such like, should all haue beene comprehended vnder that feareful *Chaos*. And so the earth as it were opened, should haue sent forth of the bottome of the *Stygian* lake such sulphured smoke, furious flames, and fearefull thunder, as should haue by their diabolicall *Domesday* destroyed and defaced, in the twinckling of an eye, not onely our present liuing Princes and people, but euen our insensible Monuments reserued for future ages. So as not only our selues that are mortal, but the immortall Monuments of our ancient Princes and Nobilitie, that haue bene so preciously preserued from age to age, as the remaining *Trophees* of their eternall glorie, and haue so long triumphed ouer enui-

ous

ous time, ſhould now haue beene all conſu-
med together; And ſo not onely we, but the
memory of vs and ours, ſhould haue beene
thus extinguiſhed in an inſtant. The true
horror therfore of this deteſtable deuiſe, hath
ſtirred me vp to bethinke my ſelfe, wherein I
may beſt diſcharge my conſcience in a cauſe
ſo generall & common, if it were to bring but
one ſtone to the building, or rather with the
Widow one mite to the common boxe. But
ſince to ſo hatefull and vnheard of inuention,
there can be no greater enemy then the ſelfe,
the ſimple trueth therof being once publikely
knowen and diuulged; and that there needs
no ſtronger argument to bring ſuch a Plot in
vniuerſall deteſtation, then the certaintie that
ſo monſtrous a thing could once be deuiſed,
nay concluded vpon, wrought in, in full readi-
neſſe, and within twelue houres of the execu-
tion: My threefold zeale to thoſe bleſsings,
whereof they would haue ſo violently made
vs all widowes, hath made mee reſolue to ſet
downe here the true Narration of that mon-
ſtrous and vnnaturall intended Tragedy, ha-
uing better occaſion by the meanes of my ſer-

uice

uice and continuall attendance in Court, to know the trueth thereof, then others that peraduenture haue it only by relatiõ at the third or fourth hand. So that whereas those worse then *Catilines*, thought to haue extirped vs & our memories; Their infamous memory shal by these meanes remaine to the ende of the world, vpon the one part: And vpon the other, Gods great and mercifull deliuerance of his Anoyhted and vs all, shall remaine in neuer dying Records. And God graunt that it may bee not Marble tables of Thankefulnesse engraued in our hearts.

WHile this Land and whole Monarchie flourished in a most happie and plentifull PEACE, as well at home as abroad, sustained and conducted by these two maine Pillars of all good Gouernement, PIETIE and IVSTICE, no forreine grudge, nor inward whispering of discontentment any way appearing; The King being vpon his returne from his hunting exercise at *Royston*, vpon occasion of the drawing neere of the Parliament time, which had beene twise

prorogued

prorogued already, partly in regard of the ſeaſon of the yeere, and partly of the Terme; As the windes are euer ſtilleſt immediatly before a ſtorme; And as the Sunne blenks often hotteſt to foretell a following ſhowre: So at that time of greateſt calme did this ſecretly hatched thunder begin to caſt foorth the firſt flaſhes and flaming lightnings of the approching tempeſt. For the Saturday of the weeke immediatly preceding the Kinges returne, which was vpon a Thurſday (being but tenne dayes before the Parliament) The Lord *Mountegle*, ſonne and heire to the Lord *Morley*, being in his owne lodging readie to goe to ſupper at ſeuen of the clocke at night, one of his footmen (whom he had ſent of an errand ouer the ſtreete) was met by an vnknowen man of a reaſonable tall perſonage, who deliuered him a Letter, charging him to put it in my Lord his Maſters hands: which my Lord no ſooner receiued, but that hauing broken it vp, and perceiuing the ſame to be of an vnknowen & ſomewhat vnlegible hand, and without either date or ſubſcription; did call one of his men vnto him for helping him

A Letter deliuered to the Lord *Mountegle*.

to read it. But no ſooner did he conceiue the ſtrange contents thereof, although hee was ſomewhat perplexed what conſtruction to make of it (as whether of a matter of conſequence, as indeede it was, or whether ſome fooliſh deuiſed Paſquil by ſome of his enemies to skarre him from his attendance at the Parliament) yet did he as a moſt dutifull and loyall Subiect, conclude not to conceale it, what euer might come of it. Whereupon, notwithſtanding the lateneſſe and darkeneſſe of the night in that ſeaſon of the yere, he preſently repaired to his Maieſties Palace at *Whitehall*, and there deliuered the ſame to the Earle of *Salisbury* his Maieſties principall Secretarie. Whereupon the ſaid Earle of *Salisbury* hauing read the Letter, and heard the maner of the comming of it to his hands, did greatly encourage and commend my Lord for his diſcretion, telling him plainely, that whatſoeuer the purpoſe of the Letter might prooue hereafter, yet did this accident put him in mind of diuers aduertiſements hee had receiued from beyond the Seas, wherewith he had acquainted aſwell the King himſelfe,

Reuealed to the Earle of *Salisbury*.

ſelfe, as diuers of his Priuie Counſellors, concerning ſome buſineſſe the Papiſts were in, both at home and abroad, making preparations for ſome combination amongſt them againſt this Parliament time, for enabling them to deliuer at that time to the King ſome petition for toleration of Religion: which ſhould bee deliuered in ſome ſuch order and ſo well backed, as the King ſhould be loth to refuſe their requeſts; like the ſturdie beggars crauing almes with one open hand, but carying a ſtone in the other, in caſe of refuſall. And therefore did the Earle of *Salisbury* conclude with the Lord *Mountegle*, that he would in regard of the Kings abſence impart the ſame Letter to ſome more of his Maieſties Councel; wherof my L. *Mountegle* liked well: only adding this requeſt by way of proteſtation, That whatſoeuer the euent herof might prooue, it ſhould not be imputed to him, as proceeding from too light and too ſuddaine an apprehenſion, that hee deliuered this Letter, being only moued thereunto for demonſtration of his ready deuotion, and care for preſeruation of his Maieſtie and the State.

Purpoſe of the Papiſts for deliuering a petition to his Maieſty, to craue toleration of Religion.

The Lord *Chamberlaine* made priuie to the Letter by the Earle of *Salisbury*.

And thus did the Earle of *Salisbury* preſently acquaint the Lord *Chamberlaine* with the ſaid Letter. Whereupon they two in preſence of the Lord *Mountegle*, calling to minde the former intelligence already mentioned, which ſeemed to haue ſome relatiõ with this Letter: The tender carewhich they euer caried to the preſeruation of his Maieſties Perſon, made them apprehend, that ſome perillous attempt did thereby appeare to bee intended againſt the ſame, which did the more neerely cõcerne the ſaid Lord Chamberlain to haue a care of, in regard that it doth belong to the charge of his Office to ouerſee as well all places of Aſſembly where his Maieſty is to repaire, as his Highneſſe owne priuate Houſes. And therefore did the ſayd two Counſailors conclude, That they ſhould ioine vnto themſelues three more of the Councell, to wit, the Lord Admirall, the Earles of *Worceſter* and *Northampton* to bee alſo particularly acquainted with this accident, who hauing all of them concurred together to the reexamination of the Contents of the ſayd Letter, they did conclude, That how ſlight a matter it might at the firſt

appeare

appeare to be, yet was it not abſolutely to be contemned, in reſpect of the care which it behooued them to haue of the preſeruation of his Maieſties perſon: But yet reſolued for two reaſons, firſt to acquaint the King himſelfe with the ſame before they proceeded to any further Inquiſition in the matter, aſwell for the expectation and experience they had of his Maieſties fortunate Iudgement in cleering and ſoluing of obſcure riddles & doubtfull myſteries; as alſo becauſe the more time would in the meane while be giuen for the Practiſe to ripen, if any was, whereby the Diſcouery might be the more cleere & euident, and the ground of proceeding thereupon more ſafe, iuſt, and eaſie. And ſo according to their determination did the ſayd Earle of *Salisbury* repaire to the King in his Gallery vpon Friday, being *Allhallow* day, in the afternoone, which was the day after his Maieſties arriual, and none but himſelfe being preſent with his Highneſſe at that time, where without any other ſpeech or iudgement giuing of the Letter, but onely relating ſimply the forme of the deliuery thereof, he preſented

Thought meete by the Counſellours to acquaint the King with the Letter.

Vpon Allhallow day the Earle of *Salisbury* ſhewed the Letter to the King.

ted it to his Maiestie. The contents whereof follow.

MY Lord, Out of the loue I beare to some of your friends, I haue a care of your preseruation. Therefore I would aduise you, as you tender your life, to deuise some excuse to shift off your attendance at this Parliament. For God and man haue concurred to punish the wickednesse of this Time. And thinke not slightly of this Aduertisement, but retire your selfe into your Countrey, where you may expect the euent in safetie. For though there be no apparance of any stirre, yet I say, they shall receiue a terrible Blow this Parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurts them. This counsell is not to be contemned, because it may doe you good, and can doe you no harme; for the danger is past so soone as you haue burnt the Letter. And I hope God will giue you the grace to make good vse of it: To whose holy protection I commend you.

His Maiesties iudgement of the Letter.

The King no sooner read the Letter, but after a little pause, and then reading it ouer againe, hee deliuered his iudgement of it in such

ſuch ſort, as he thought it was not to be contemned, for that the Style of it ſeemed to be more quicke and pithie, then is vſuall to be in any Paſquil or Libell (the ſuperfluities of idle braines:) But the Earle of *Salisbury* perceiuing the King to apprehẽd it deeplier then he looked for, knowing his Nature, told him that he thought by one ſentence in it, that it was like to be written by ſome foole or mad man, reading to him this Sentence in it, *For the danger is paſt as ſoone as you haue burnt the Letter*; which hee ſaid, was likely to be the ſaying of a foole: for if the danger was paſt ſo ſoone as the Letter was burnt, then the warning behoued to be of little auaile, when the burning of the Letter might make the danger to be eſchewed. But the King by the contrary conſidering the former Sentence in the Letter, *That they ſhould receiue a terrible Blow at this Parliament, and yet ſhould not ſee who hurt them*, Ioyning it to the ſentence immediatly following, already alledged, did thereupon coniecture, That the danger mentioned, ſhould bee ſome ſuddaine danger by blowing vp of Powder: For no other Inſurrection,

rection, Rebellion, or whatsoeuer other priuate and desperate Attempt could bee committed or attempted in time of Parliament, and the Authors therof vnseene, except only if it were by a blowing vp of powder, which might bee performed by one base knaue in a darke corner; whereupon he was mooued to interprete and construe the latter Sentence in the letter (alledged by the Earle of *Salisbury*) against all ordinary sense and construction in Grammar, as if by these words, *For the danger is past as soone as you haue burned the Letter*, should be closely vnderstood the suddaintie and quickneſſe of the danger, which should bee as quickly perfourmed and at an end, as that paper should bee of bleasing vp in the fire; turning that word of *as soone*, to the sense of, *as quickly*. And therfore wished, that before his going to the Parliament, the vnder roumes of the Parliament house might bee well and narrowly searched. But the Earle of *Salisbury* woondering at this his Maiesties Commentary, which he knew to be so farre contrary to his ordinary and naturall disposition, who did rather euer sinne vpon the other

His Maiesties opinion for searching of the vnder roomes of the Parliament house.

ther side, in not apprehending nor trusting due Aduertisements of Practises and Perils when he was truely enformed of them, wherby he had many times drawen himselfe into many desperate dangers: and interpreting rightly this extraordinarie Caution at this time to proceed from the vigilant care hee had of the whole State, more then of his owne Person, which could not but haue all perished together, if this designement had succeeded: Hee thought good to dissemble still vnto the King, that there had beene any iust cause of such apprehension: And ending the purpose with some merry iest vpon this Subiect, as his custome is, tooke his leaue for that time. But though he seemed so to neglect it to his Maiestie; yet his customable and watchfull care of the King and the State still boyling within him, And hauing with the blessed Virgine *Mary* layd vp in his heart the Kings so strange iudgement and construction of it; Hee could not be at rest till hee acquainted the foresaid Lords what had passed betweene the King & him in priuat. Whereupon they were also earnest to renew ag. ine

the memory of the same purpose to his Maiestie, as it was agreed that he should the next day, being Saturday, repaire to his Highnes: which he did in the same priuie Gallery, and renewed the memory thereof, the L. *Chamberlaine* then being present with the King. At what time it was determined, that the sayd Lord *Chamberlaine* should, according to his custome and Office, view all the Parliament Houses, both aboue and below, and consider what likelihood or appearance of any such danger might possibly be gathered by the sight of them: But yet, aswell for staying of idle rumors, as for being the more able to discerne any mysterie, the nearer that things were in readinesse, his iourney thither was ordeined to bee deferred till the afternoone before the sitting downe of the Parliament, which was vpon the Munday following. At what time hee (according to this conclusion) went to the Parliament house accompanied with my Lord *Mountegle*, being in zeale to the Kings seruice earnest and curious to see the euent of that accident whereof hee had the fortune to be the first discouerer: where, hauing

The determination to search the Parliament house and the roomes vnder it.

uing viewed all the lower roumes, hee found in the vault vnder the vpper Houſe great ſtore and prouiſion of Billets, Faggots and Coales: And enquiring of *Whyneard* keeper of the Wardrobe, to what vſe hee had put thoſe lower roumes and cellars; he told him, That *Thomas Percy* had hired both the houſe and part of the Cellar or Vault vnder the ſame, and that the Wood and Coale therein was the ſayde Gentlemans owne prouiſion. Whereupon the Lord *Chamberlaine*, caſting his eye aſide, perceiued a fellow ſtanding in a corner there, calling himſelfe the ſaid *Percyes* man, and keeper of that houſe for him, but indeed was *Guido Fawkes*, the owner of that hand which ſhould haue acted that monſtrous Tragedie.

Wood and Cole found by the L. *Chamberlaine* in the Vault.

Guido Fawks bearing the name of *Percies* man.

The Lord *Chamberlaine* looking vpon all things with a heedful indeed, yet in outward appearance with but a careleſſe and rackleſſe eye (as became ſo wiſe and diligent a miniſter) hee preſently addreſſed himſelfe to the King in the ſaid priuie Gallerie, where in the preſence of the Lord *Treaſurer*, the Lord *Admirall*, the Earles of *Worceſter*, *Northampton*,

The Lord *Chamberlaine* report and iudgement of what he had obſerued in the ſearch.

and *Salisbury* he made his report, what hee had ſeene and obſerued there; noting that *Mountegle* had told him, That he no ſooner heard *Thomas Percy* named to be the poſſeſſour of that houſe, but conſidering both his backwardnes in Religion, and the old deareneſſe in friendſhip betweene himſelfe and the ſayd *Percy*, hee did greatly ſuſpect the matter, & that the Letter ſhould come from him. The ſaid Lord *Chamberlaine* alſo tolde, That he did not wonder a little at the extraordinarie great prouiſion of wood and coale in that houſe, where *Thomas Percy* had ſo ſeldome occaſion to remaine; As likewiſe it gaue him in his minde that his man looked like a very tall and deſperate fellow.

This could not but encreaſe the Kings former apprehenſion and iealouſie: whereupon hee inſiſted (as before) that the Houſe was narrowly to be ſearched, and that thoſe Billets and Coales would be ſearched to the bottome, it being moſt ſuſpicious that they were layd there onely for couering of the powder. Of this ſame minde alſo were all the Counſailors then preſent. But vpon the

faſhion

faſhion of making of the ſearch was it long debated: For vpon the one ſide they were all ſo iealous of the Kings ſafetie, that they all agreed, that there could not be too much caution vſed for preuenting his danger. And yet vpon the other part they were al extreme loth & daintie, that in caſe this Letter ſhould prooue to be nothing but the euaporation of an idle braine; then a curious ſearch being made, and nothing found, ſhould not onely turne to the generall ſcandall of the King and the State, as being ſo ſuſpicious of euery light and friuolous toy, but likewiſe lay an ill ſauoured imputation vpon the Earle of *Northumberland* one of his Maieſties greateſt Subiects and Counſailors, this *Thomas Percy* being his kinſman and moſt confident familiar. And the rather were they curious vpon this point, knowing how farre the King deteſted to be thought ſuſpicious or iealous of any of his good Subiects, though of the meaneſt degree. And therfore though they all agreed vpon the maine ground, which was to prouide for the ſecuritie of the Kings perſon, yet did they much differ in the cir-

Diſputation about the maner of the further ſearch.

cumſtances, by which this action might be beſt caried with leaſt dinne and occaſion of ſlander. But the King himſelfe ſtill perſiſting that there were diuers ſhrewd appearances, and that a narrow ſearch of thoſe places could preiudge no man that was innocent, he at laſt plainely reſolued them, That either muſt all the parts of thoſe roumes bee narrowly ſearched, and no poſsibilitie of danger left vnexamined, or elſe he and they all muſt reſolue not to meddle in it at all, but plainly to go the next day to the Parliament, and leaue the ſucceſſe to Fortune, which hee beleeued they would be loth to take vpon their conſciences: for in ſuch a caſe as this, an halfe doing was worſe then no doing at all. Whereupon it was at laſt concluded, That nothing ſhould bee left vnſearched in thoſe Houſes: And yet for the better colour and ſtay of rumour in caſe nothing were found, it was thought meet, that vpon a pretence of *Whyneards* miſsing ſome of the Kings ſtuffe or Hangings which he had in keeping, all thoſe roumes ſhould be narrowly ripped for them. And to this purpoſe was Sir *Thomas Kneuet* (a Gen-

Agreed that the ſearch ſhould be vnder colour of ſeeking for Wardrobe ſtuffe miſſed by *Whyneyard*.

(a Gentleman of his Maiesties priuie Chamber) employed, being a Iustice of Peace in *Westminster*, and one, of whose antient fidelitie both the late Queene and our now Souereigne haue had large proofe: who according to the trust committed vnto him, went about the midnight next after, to the Parliament house, accompanied with such a small number as was fit for that errand. But before his entrie in the house, finding *Thomas Percyes* alleadged man standing without the doores, his cloathes and boots on at so dead a time of the night, he resolued to apprehend him, as hee did, and thereafter went forward to the searching of the house, where after he had caused to be ouerturned some of the Billets and Coales, he first found one of the small Barrels of powder, and after all the rest, to the number of thirtie sixe Barrels, great and small: And thereafter searching the fellow, whom hee had taken, found three matches, and all other instruments fit for blowing vp the powder, ready vpon him, which made him instantly confesse his owne guiltinesse, declaring also vnto him, That if he had happened

Fawx found at midnight without the house.

pened to be within the house when he tooke him, as hee was immediatly before (at the ending of his worke) hee would not haue failed to haue blowen him vp, house and all.

Thus after Sir *Thomas* had caused the wretch to be surely bound, and well guarded by the company he had brought with him, he himselfe returned backe to the Kings Palace, and gaue warning of his successe to the Lord Chamberlaine, and Earle of Salisburie, who immediatly warning the rest of the Councel that lay in the house, as soon as they could get themselues ready, came, with their fellow Counsellers, to the Kings Bed-chamber, being at that time nere foure of the clocke in the morning. And at the first entrie of the Kings Chamber doore, the Lord Chamberlaine, being not any longer able to conceale his ioy for the preuenting of so great a danger, told the King in a confused haste, that all was found and discouered, and the Traitor in hands and fast bound.

Vpon Sir *Thomas Kneuets* returne the Councel warned.

Then, order being first taken for sending for the rest of the Counsell that lay in the Towne, The prisoner himselfe was brought into

into the house, where in respect of the strangnesse of the accident, no man was stayed from the sight or speaking with him. And within a while after, the Counsell did examine him; Who seeming to put on a Romane resolution, did both to the Counsell, and to euery other person that spake with him that day, appeare so constant & setled vpon his grounds, as we all thought wee had found some newe *Mutius Scæuola* borne in England. For notwithstanding the horrour of the Fact, the guilt of his conscience, his suddain surprising, the terrour which should haue beene stroken in him by comming into the presence of so graue a Counsell, and the restlesse and confused questions that euery man all that day did vexe him with; Yet was his countenance so farre from being deiected, as he often smiled in scornefull maner, not onely auowing the Fact, but repenting onely, with the said *Scæuola*, his failing in the execution thereof, whereof (hee said) the Diuell and not God was the discouerer: Answering quickly to euery mans obiection, scoffing at any idle questions which were propounded vnto him,

and ieſting with ſuch as hee thought had no authoritie to examine him. All that day could the Counſell get nothing out of him touching his Complices, refuſing to anſwere to any ſuch queſtions which hee thought might diſcouer the Plot, and laying all the blame vpon himſelfe; Whereunto he ſaid he was mooued onely for Religion and conſcience ſake, denying the King to be his lawfull Soueraigne, or the Anoynted of God in reſpect hee was an Hereticke, and giuing himſelfe no other name then *Iohn Iohnſon*, ſeruant to *Thomas Percy*. But the next morning being caried to the Tower, he did not there remaine aboue two or three dayes, being twiſe or thriſe in that ſpace reexamined, and the Racke onely offred and ſhewed vnto him, when the maske of his Romaine fortitude did viſibly begin to weare & ſlide off his face; And then did he begin to confeſſe part of the trueth, and thereafter to open the whole matter, as doeth appeare by his depoſitions immediatly following.

THE

THE TRVE COPIE OF THE DECLARATION of *Guido Fawkes*, taken in the presence of the Counsellers, vvhose names are vnder vvritten.

I Confesse, that a practise in generall was first broken vnto me, against his Maiestie for reliefe of the Catholique cause, and not inuented or propounded by my selfe. And this was first propounded vnto mee about Easterlast was twelue moneth beyond the Seas, in the Lowe Countreys of the *Archdukes* obeisance, by *Thomas Winter*, vvho came thereupon with mee into England, and there we imparted our purpose to three other Gentlemen more, namely, *Robert Catesby*, *Thomas Percy*, and *Iohn Wright*, who all

fiue consulting together of the meanes how to execute the same, and taking a vow among our selues for secrecie; *Catesby* propounded to haue it performed by Gunpowder, and by making a Myne vnder the vpper House of Parliament: which place wee made choice of the rather, because Religion hauing beene vniustly suppressed there, it was fittest that Iustice and punishment should be executed there.

This being resolued amongst vs, *Thomas Percy* hired an House at Westminster for that purpose, neere adioyning to the Parliament House, and there we begun to make our Myne about the 11. of December 1604.

The fiue that first entred into the worke, were *Thomas Percy*, *Robert Catesby*, *Thomas Winter*, *Iohn Wright*, and my selfe: and soone after wee tooke another vnto vs, *Christopher Wright*, hauing sworne him also, and taken the Sacrament for secrecie.

When we came to the very foundation of the Wall of the House, which was about three yards thicke, and found it a matter of great difficultie, wee tooke vnto vs another Gentleman, *Robert Winter*, in like maner with oath and Sacrament as aforesaid.

It was about Christmas when we brought our Myne vnto the Wall, and about Candlemas we had wrought the Wall halfe through: And whilest they were in working, I stood as Senti-

nell

nell to deſcrie any man that came neere, whereof I gaue them warning, and ſo they ceaſed vntill I gaue notice againe to proceede.

All vve ſeuen lay in the Houſe, and had Shot and Povvder, being reſolued to die in that place before we ſhouldyeeld or be taken.

As they were working vpon the Wall, they heard a ruſhing in a Cellar of remooving of Coales, whereupon wee feared wee had beene diſcouered: and they ſent me to go to the Cellar, who finding that the Coales were a ſelling, and that the Cellar was to bee let, vievving the commoditie thereof for our purpoſe, *Percy* went and hired the ſame for yeerely rent.

We had before this prouided and brought into the Houſe tvventie Barrels of Povvder, which we remooued into the Cellar, and couered the ſame with Billets and Faggots, which were prouided for that purpoſe.

About Eaſter, the Parliament being prorogued till October next, wee diſperſed our ſelues, and I retired into the Low countreys by aduiſe and direction of the reſt, aſwel to acquaint *Owen* with the particulars of the Plot, as alſo leaſt by my longer ſtay I might haue grovven ſuſpicious, and ſo haue come in queſtion.

In the meane time *Percy* hauing the key of the Cellar, laide in more Povvder and wood into it. I returned about the beginning of September next, and then receiuing the key againe of *Percy*,

we brought in more Powder and Billets to couer the ſame againe, and ſo I went for a time into the Countrey till the 30. of October.

It was further reſolued amongſt vs, that the ſame day that this Act ſhould haue beene performed, ſome other of our Confederates ſhould haue ſurpriſed the perſon of the Lady ELIZABETH the Kings eldeſt daughter, who was kept in Warwickſhire at the Lo. *Haringtons* houſe, and preſently haue Proclaimed her Queene, hauing a Proiect of a Proclaimation ready for that purpoſe; wherein we made no mention of altering of Religion, nor would haue auowed the deede to bee ours, vntill wee ſhould haue had power enough to make our partie good, and then we would haue auowed both.

Concerning Duke CHARLES the Kings ſecond ſonne, wee had ſundry conſultations how to ſeiſe on his Perſon. But becauſe we found no meanes how to compaſſe it (the Duke being kept neere London, where wee had not Forces ynough) we reſolued to ſerue our turne with the Lady ELIZABETH.

late intended Treaſon.

¶ The names of other principall perſons, that vvere made priuy afterwards to this horrible Conſpiracie.

Euerard Digby knight.
Ambroſe Rookwood.
Francis Treſham.
John Grant.
Robert Keyes.

Commiſſ.

Notingham. Worceſter.
Suffolke. Deuonſhire.
Northampton. Salisbury.
Marre. Dunbar.
Popham.

Edw. Coke.
W. Waad.

And

AND in regard that before this diſcourſe could be readie to goe to the Preſſe, *Thomas Winter* being apprehended, and brought to the Tower, made a confeſsion in ſubſtance agreeing with this former of *Fawkes*, onely larger in ſome circumſtances: I haue thought good to inſert the ſame likewiſe in this place, for the further cleering of the matter, and greater benefit of the Reader.

Thomas

Thomas Winters Confession, taken the xxiij. of November 1605. in the presence of the Councellors, whose names are vnder-written.

My most Honorable Lords,

NOt out of hope to obtaine pardon: for, speaking of my temporall part, I may say, The fault is greater then can be forgiuen; nor affecting hereby the title of a good Subiect: for I must redeeme my Countrey from as great a danger, as I haue hazarded the bringing of Her into, before I can purchase any such opinion; Only at your Honours commaund I will briefly set downe mine owne accusation, and how farre I haue proceeded in this businesse; which I shall the faithfullier doe, since I see such courses are not pleasing to Almighty God, and that all, or the most materiall parts haue bene already confessed.

I remayned with my brother in the Countrey from Alhallontyde vntill the beginning of Lent, in the yeere of our Lord 1603. the first yeere of

the Kings reigne: about which time Maſter *Cateſby* ſent thither, intreating mee to come to London, where he and other my friends would be glad to ſee me. I deſired him to excuſe me: for I found my ſelfe not very well diſpoſed; and (which had happened neuer to me before) returned the meſſenger without my company. Shortly I receiued another letter, in any wiſe to come. At the ſecond ſummons I preſently came vp, and found him with Maſter *Iohn Wright* at Lambeth, where he brake with mee, how neceſſary it was not to forſake our Countrey (for he knew I had then a reſolution to goe ouer) but to deliuer her from the ſeruitude in which ſhe remayned, or at leaſt to aſsiſt her with our vttermoſt endeuours. I anſwered, That I had often hazarded my life vpon farre lighter termes, and now would not refuſe any good occaſion, wherein I might doe ſeruice to the Catholicke cauſe; but for my ſelfe I knew no meane probable to ſucceede. He ſaid that hee had bethought him of a way at one inſtant to deliuer vs from all our Bonds, and without any forraine helpe to replant againe the Catholicke Religion; and withal told me in a word, It was to blowe vp the Parliament houſe with Gunpowder; for, ſaid he, in that place haue they done vs all the miſchiefe, and perchance God hath deſſeigned that place for their puniſhment. I wondered at the ſtrangeneſſe of the conceipt, and told him that true it was, this ſtrake at the

Roote,

Roote, and would breed a confuſion fit to beget new alterations; But if it ſhould not take effect (as moſt of this nature miſcaryed) the ſcandall would bee ſo great which Catholicke Religion might hereby ſuſtaine, as not only our Enemies, but our Friendes alſo would with good reaſon condemne vs. He told mee, The nature of the diſeaſe required ſo ſharpe a remedie, and asked me if I would giue my conſent. I told him, yes, in this or what els ſoeuer, if he reſolued vpon it, I would venture my life. But I propoſed many difficulties, As want of an Houſe, and of one to cary the Myne, noyſe in the working, and ſuch like. His anſwere was, Let vs giue an attempt, and where it faileth, paſſe no further. But firſt, quoth he, Becauſe wee will leaue no peaceable and quiet way vntryed, you ſhall goe ouer, and informe the Conſtable of the ſtate of the Catholickes here in England, intreating him to ſollicite his Maieſtie at his comming hither, that the penall Lawes may be recalled, and we admitted into the rancke of his other Subiects; withall, you may bring ouer ſome confident Gentleman, ſuch as you ſhall vnderſtand beſt able for this buſines, and named vnto me M. *Fawkes*. Shortly after, I paſſed the Sea, and found the Conſtable at *Bergen* neere *Dunkirke*, where, by helpe of M. *Owen* I deliuered my meſſage, Whoſe anſwere was that he had ſtrict command from his Maſter, to do all good Offices for the Catholicks, & for his owne

part he thought himselfe bound in conscience so to do, and that no good occasion should be omitted, but spake to him nothing of this matter.

Returning to *Dunkirck* with M. *Owen*, we had speach whether he thought the Constable would faithfully helpe vs, or no. Hee sayd he beleeued nothing lesse, and that they sought onely their owne endes, holding small account of Catholickes. I told him that there were many Gentlemen in *England*, who would not forsake their Countrey vntill they had tried the vttermost, and rather venture their liues, then forsake her in this miserie. And to adde one more to our number, as a fit man both for counsell and execution of whatsoeuer we should resolue, wished for M. *Fawkes*, whome I had heard good commendations of: he told me the Gentleman deserued no lesse, but was at *Brussels*, and that if hee came not, as happily he might, before my departure, he would send him shortly after into *England* I went soone after to *Ostend*, where Sir *William Stanley* as then was not, but came two dayes after. I remained with him three or foure dayes, in which time I asked him, if the Catholickes in *England* should doe any thing to helpe themselues, whether he thought the Archduke would second them? Hee answered, No, for all those parts were so desirous of peace with *England*, as they would endure no speach of other enterprise: neither were it fit, sayd hee, to set any

proiect

proiect afoote now the Peace is vpon concluding. I told him there was no ſuch reſolution, and ſo fell to diſcourſe of other matters, vntill I came to ſpeake of M. *Fawkes*, whoſe company I wiſhed ouer into *England*. I asked of his ſufficiencie in the warres, and told him we ſhould need ſuch as hee if occaſion required; hee gaue very good commendations of him. And as we were thus diſcourſing, and I ready to depart for *Newport*, and taking my leaue of Sir *William*, Maſter *Fawkes* came into our company, newly returned, and ſaluted vs. This is the Gentleman, ſayd Sir *William*, that you wiſhed for, and ſo we embraced againe. I told him ſome good friends of his wiſhed his company in *England*, and that if he pleaſed to come to *Dunkirck*, we would haue further conference, whither I was then going: ſo taking my leaue of them both, I departed. About two dayes after came M. *Fawkes* to *Dunkirck*, where I told him that wee were vpon a reſolution to doe ſomewhat in *England*, if the Peace with *Spaine* helped vs not, but had as yet reſolued vpon nothing; ſuch or the like talke we paſſed at *Graueling*, where I lay for a winde, and when it ſerued came both in one Paſſage to *Greenwich*, neere which place we tooke a paire of Oares, and ſo came vp to *London*, and came to M. *Catesby* whom we found in his lodging; he welcommed vs into *England*, & asked me what newes from the Conſtable. I told him, good words, but I feared the

deedes would not anſwere. This was the beginning of Eaſter Terme and about the middeſt of the ſame Terme, (whether ſent for by Maſter *Catesby*, or vpon ſome buſineſſe of his owne) vp came M. *Thomas Percy*. The firſt word he ſpake (after he came into our company) was, Shall we alwayes (Gentlemen) talke, and neuer doe any thing? M. *Catesby* tooke him aſide, and had ſpeach about ſomewhat to be done, ſo as firſt we might all take an oath of ſecrecy, which wee reſolued vvithin tvvo or three daies to do: ſo as there vve met behind S. *Clements*, M. *Catesby*, M. *Percy*, M. *Wright*, M. *Guy Fawkes*, and my ſelfe; and hauing vpon a Primer giuen each other the oath of ſecrecy, in a chamber vvhere no other bodie vvas, vvee vvent after into the next roome and heard Maſſe, and receiued the bleſſed Sacrament vpon the ſame. Then did M. *Catesby* diſcloſe to M. *Percy*, and I together vvith *Iack Wright*, tell to M. *Fawkes* the buſineſſe for vvhich vvee tooke this oath, which they both approued. And then was M. *Percy* ſent to take the houſe, vvhich M. *Catesby* in mine abſence had learned did belong to one *Ferris*, which with ſome difficultie in the end he obtained, & became as *Ferris* before was, Tenant to *Whynniard*. M. *Fawkes* vnderwent the name of M. *Percies* man, calling himſelfe *Iohnſon*, becauſe his face was the moſt vnknowen, and receiued the keyes of the houſe, vntill wee heard that the Parliament was adiorned to the ſeuenth

of

of February. At which time we all departed ſeuerall wayes into the countrey, to meete againe at the beginning of Michaelmas Terme. Before this time alſo it was thought conuenient to haue a houſe that might anſwere to M. *Percies*, where we might make prouiſion of powder and wood for the Mine, which being there made ready, ſhould in a night bee conueyed by boate to the houſe by the Parliament, becauſe we were loath to foyle that vvith often going in and out. There was none that wee could deuiſe ſo fit as *Lambeth*, where M. *Catesby* often lay, and to bee keeper thereof (by M. *Catesbies* choice) we receiued into the number, *Keyes*, as a truſty honeſt man: this was about a month before *Michaelmas*.

Some fortnight after towards the beginning of the Terme, M. *Fawkes* and I came to M. *Cateſby* at *Morecroſts*, vvhere vve agreed that now vvas time to beginne and ſet things in order for the Mine. So as M. *Fawkes* went to *London*, and the next day ſent for me to come ouer to him: when I came, the cauſe was, for that the Scottiſh Lords were appointed to ſit in conference of the Vnion in M. *Percies* houſe. This hindered our beginning vntill a fortnight before Chriſtmas, by vvhich time both Maſter *Percy* and M. *Wright* were come to *London*, and vve againſt their comming had prouided a good part of the powder: ſo as vve all fiue entred with tooles fit to begin our worke, hauing prouided our ſelues of Baked-meates,

ked-meats, the leſſe to need ſending abroad. We entred late in the night, and were neuer ſeene ſaue only M. *Percyes* man, vntill Chriſtmas Eue. In which time vve wrought vnder a little Entry to the wall of the Parliament houſe, and vnderpropped it, as we vvent, vvith vvood.

Whileſt we were together, we began to faſhion our buſineſſe, and diſcourſed what we ſhould doe after this deed was done. The firſt queſtion vvas how vve might ſurpriſe the next heire, the Prince haply vvould be at the Parliament vvith the King his Father, how ſhould we then be able to ſeaſe on the Duke? This burthen M. *Percy* vndertooke, that by his acquaintance, hee, vvith another Gentleman would enter the Chamber without ſuſpicion, & hauing ſome dozen others at ſeuerall doores to expect his comming, and two or three on horſebacke at the Court gate to receiue him, he vvould vndertake (the blow being giuen, vntill vvhich hee vvould attend in the Dukes Chamber) to carry him ſafe avvay: for he ſuppoſed moſt of the Court vvould be abſent, and ſuch as vvere there not ſuſpecting, or vnprouided for any ſuch matter. For the Lady ELIZABETH, it vvere eaſie to ſurpriſe her in the countrey by dravving friends together at an hunting neere the Lord *Haringtons*, and Aſhby, M. *Catesbyes* houſe, being not farre off vvas a fit place for preparation.

The next vvas for mony and horſes, vvhich if

vve

we could prouide in any reaſonable meaſure (hauing the Heire apparant) & the firſt knowledge by foure or fiue dayes, was oddes ſufficient.

Then what Lords we ſhould ſaue from the Parliament, which was firſt agreed in generall as many as we could that were Catholickes, or ſo diſpoſed: But after we deſcended to ſpeake of particulars.

Next what forreine Princes wee ſhould acquaint with this before, or ioyne with after. For this point we agreed, that firſt we could not enioyne Princes to that ſecrecie, nor oblige them by oath, ſo to be ſecure of their promiſe: beſides we knew not whether they wil approue the proiect or diſlike it. And if they doe allow thereof, to prepare before might beget ſuſpicion; and not to prouide vntill the buſineſſe were acted, the ſame letter that caried newes of the thing done, might as well intreate their helpe and furtherance. *Spaine* is too ſlow in his preparations to hope any good from in the firſt extremities, and *France* too neere and too dangerous, who with the ſhipping of *Holland*, we feared of all the world might make away with vs.

But while we were in the middle of theſe diſcourſes, we heard that the Parliament ſhould be anew adiourned vntill after Michaelmas, vpon which tidings wee broke off both diſcourſe and working vntill after Chriſtmas. About Candlemas we brought ouer in a boate the powder,

vvhich vvee had prouided at Lambeth, and layd it in M. *Percyes* houſe, becauſe vve vvere vvilling to haue all our danger in one place.

We vvrought alſo another fortnight in the Myne againſt the ſtone wall, vvhich vvas very hard to beate thorow; at vvhich time vve called in *Kit VVright*, and neere to Eaſter, as vvee vvrought the third time, opportunitie vvas giuen to hire the Cellar, in vvhich vve reſolued to lay the povvder, and leaue the Myne.

Novv by reaſon that the charge of maintaining vs all ſo long together, beſides the number of ſeuerall houſes, vvhich for ſeuerall vſes had been hired, and buying of povvder &c. had layne heauie on M. *Catesby* alone to ſupport; it was neceſſary for him to call in ſome others to eaſe his charge, and to that ende deſired leaue, that hee, with M. *Percy*, and a third, whom they ſhould call, might acquaint whom they thought fit and willing to the buſineſſe: for many, ſaid he, may be content that I ſhould know, who would not therefore that all the company ſhould be acquainted with their names: to this we all agreed.

After this Maſter *Fawkes* layd into the Cellar (which he had newly taken) a thouſand of Billets, and fiue hundred of Faggots, and vvith that couered the Powder, becauſe we might haue the Houſe free, to ſuffer any one to enter that would. M. *Catesby* wiſhed vs to conſider, whether it were not novv neceſſary to ſend M. *Fawkes* ouer, both

to

to abſent himſelfe for a time, as alſo to acquaint Sir *William Stanley* and M. *Owen* vvith this matter. Wee agreed that he ſhould (prouided that he gaue it them vvith the ſame othe that vvee had taken it before) *videlicet*, to keepe it ſecret from all the vvorld. The reaſon why vve deſired Sir *William Stanley* ſhould be acquainted herevvith vvas, to haue him vvith vs ſo ſoone as hee could: And for M. *Owen*, hee might hold good correſpondencie after vvith forraine Princes. So M. *Fawkes* departed about Eaſter for *Flanders*, and returned the later end of Auguſt. Hee told me that vvhen he arriued at *Bruſſels*, Sir *William Stanley* vvas not returned from *Spaine*, ſo as he vttered the matter onely to *Owen*, who ſeemed vvell pleaſed vvith the buſineſſe, but told him that ſurely Sir *William* would not bee acquainted with any plot, as hauing buſineſſe now afoot in the Court of *England*: but hee himſelfe would be alvvayes ready to tell it him, and ſend him avvay ſo ſoone as it were done.

About this time did M. *Percy* and M. *Catesby* meet at the *Bathe*, where they agreed that the company being yet but few, M. *Catesby* ſhould haue the others authoritie to call in whom hee thought beſt; By which authoritie he called in after, Sir *Euerard Digby*, though at what time I know not, and laſt of all Maſter *Francis Treſham*. The firſt promiſed, as I heard M. *Catesby* ſay, fifteene hundred pounds; The ſecond two thou-

sand pounds; M. *Percy* himselfe promised all that hee could get of the Earle of *Northumberlands* rents, which was about foure thousand pounds, and to prouide many galloping horses to the number of ten.

Meane while M. *Fawkes* and my selfe alone bought some new Powder, as suspecting the first to be danke, and conueyed it into the Cellar, and set it in order, as vvee resolued it should stand. Then was the Parliament anew prorogued vntil the fift of Nouember, so as vve all went dovvn vntill some ten dayes before, vvhen M. *Catesby* came vp vvith M. *Fawkes* to an house by *Enfield Chace* called *White-webbes*, whither I came to them, and M. *Catesby* willed mee to enquire whether the yong Prince came to the Parliament: I told him that I heard that his Grace thought not to be there. Then must we haue our Horses said M *Catesby* beyond the vvater, and prouision of more company to surprise the Prince, and leaue the Duke alone.

Two dayes after being Sunday at night, in came one to my chamber, and told me that a letter had bene giuen to my L. *Mountegle* to this effect, That he vvished his Lordships absence from the Parliament, Because a Blow would there be giuen; Which letter hee presently carried to my L. of *Salisbury*.

On the morrow I went to *White-webbes*, and told it *M. Catesby*, assuring him vvithall that the matter

matter vvas disclosed: and wishing him in any case to forsake his Countrey. Hee told me hee would see further as yet, and resolued to send M. *Fawkes* to trie the vttermost, protesting if the part belonged to himselfe, hee would trie the same aduenture.

On Wednesday Master *Fawkes* went and returned at night, of which we were very glad.

Thursday I came to London, and Friday Master *Catesby*, Master *Tresham* and I met at *Barnet*, where we questioned how this Letter should bee sent to my Lord *Mountegle*, but could not conceiue, for Master *Tresham* forsware it, whom we only suspected.

On Saturday night I met M. *Tresham* againe in Lincolnes Inne walkes. Wherein he told such speeches, that my L. of *Salisbury* should vse to the King, as I gaue it lost the second time, & repeated the same to M. *Catesby*, who hereupon was resolued to be gone, but staid to haue Master *Percy* come vp, whose consent herein we wanted. On Sunday M. *Percy* being dealt with to that end, would needs abide the vttermost triall.

This suspicion of all hands put vs into such confusion, as Master *Catesby* resolued to goe dovvn into the Countrey the Munday that Master *Percy* went to Syon, and Master *Percy* resolued to follow the same night, or earely the next morning. About fiue of the clocke being Tuesday, came the yonger *Wright* to my Chamber,

and told me that a Nobleman called the Lord *Mounteagle*, saying, Arise, and come along to *Essex* house, for I am going to call vp my Lord of *Northumberland*: saying withall, The matter is discouered. Goe backe Master *Wright* (quoth I) and learne what you can about *Essex* gate. Shortly hee returned and said, Surely all is lost: for *Lepton* is got on horsebacke at *Essex* doore, and as hee parted, hee asked if their Lordships would haue any more with him: and being answered No, is rode fast vp Fleetstreete as he can ride. Goe you then (quoth I) to M. *Percy*, for sure it is for him they seeke, and bid him be gone, I will stay and see the vttermost. Then I went to the Court gates and found them straightly garded, so as no body could enter. From thence I went dovvne towards the Parliament house, and in the middle of Kings streete, found the Garde standing that would not let me passe. And as I returned I heard one say, There is a Treason discouered, in which the King and the Lords should haue beene blovven vp. So then I was fully satisfied that all was knowen, and went to the Stable where my Gelding stoode, and rode into the Countrey. M. *Catesby* had appointed our meeting at *Dunchurch*, but I could not ouertake them vntill I came to my brothers, which was Wednesday night. On Thursday we tooke the Armour at my L. *Windsors*, and went that night to one *Stephen Littletons* house, where the

next day (being Friday) as I was early abroad to discouer, my man came to me, and said, that an heauie mischance had seuered all the companie, for that M. *Catesby*, M. *Rookwood*, and M. *Grant*, vvere burned vvith Gunpovvder, vpon vvhich sight the rest dispersed. Master *Littleton* vvished me to flie, and so would he. I told him I vvould first see the body of my friend and burie him, vvhatsoeuer befel me. When I came, I found M. *Catesby* reasonable vvell, Master *Percy*, both the *Wrights*, M. *Rookwood*, and Master *Grant*. I asked them vvhat they resolued to do: they answered, We meane here to die. I said againe, I vvould take such part as they did. About eleuen of the clock came the companie to beset the house, and as I walked into the court, I was shot into the shoulder, which lost me the vse of mine arme: the next shot was the elder *Wright* stricken dead, after him the yonger M. *Wright*, & fourthly *Ambrose Rookwood* shot. Then said M. *Catesby* to me (standing before the doore they were to enter) Stand by me *Tom*, and we will die together. Sir (quoth I) I haue lost the vse of my right arme, and I feare that will cause me to be taken. So as vve stoode close together, M. *Catesby*, M. *Percy*, and my selfe, they tvvo vvere shot (as farre as I could guesse vvith one Bullet) and then the companie entered vpon me, hurt mee in the Belly vvith a Pike, and gaue me other vvounds, vntill

one

one came behind, and caught holde of both mine armes.

And so I remaine yours, &c.

Commiss.

Notingham, Suffolk, Worcester,
Deuonshire, Northampton, Salisbury,
Marr, Dunbar,
Popham.

Edw. Coke. W. Waad.

¶ *The names of those that were* first in the Treason, and laboured in the Myne.

Robert Catesby. } Esquires.
Robert Winter. }

Thomas Percy. }
Thomas Winter. }
Iohn Wright. } Gentlemen.
Christopher Wright. }
Guido Fawkes. }

And Bates Catesbies man.

¶ *Those*

¶ *Thoſe that were made acquainted* with it, though not perſonally labouring in the Myne, nor in the Cellar.

Euerard Digby.	Knight.
Ambroſe Rookvvood.	Eſquires.
Francis Treſham.	Eſquires.
Iohn Graunt.	Gent.
Robert Keyes.	

BVt here let vs leaue *Fawkes* in a lodging fit for ſuch a gueſt, and taking time to aduiſe vpon his conſcience; and turne our ſelues to that part of the Hiſtorie, which concernes the fortune of the reſt of his partakers in that abominable Treaſon. The newes was no ſooner ſpred abroad that morning, which was vpon a Tueſday, the fift of *Nouember*, and the firſt day deſigned for that Seſsion of Parliament; The newes (I ſay) of this ſo ſtrange and vnlooked for accident was no ſooner diuulged, but ſome of thoſe Conſpiratours, namely *Winter*, and the two

brothers of *VVrights* thought it high time for them to haſten out of the Towne (for *Catesby* was gone the night before, and *Percy* at foure of the clocke in the morning the ſame day of the Diſcouerie) and all of them helde their courſe, with more haſte then good ſpeede to *VVarwicke* Shire toward *Couentry*, where the next day morning being *Wedneſday*, and about the ſame houre that *Fawkes* was taken in *Weſtminſter*, one *Graunt* a Gentleman hauing aſſociated vnto him ſome others of his opinion, all violent Papiſts and ſtrong Recuſants, came to a Stable of one *Benocke* a rider of great Horſes, and hauing violently broken vp the ſame, caried along with them all the great Horſes that were therein, to the number of ſeuen or eight, belonging to diuers Noblemen and Gentlemen of that Country, who had put them into the Riders hands to be made fit for their ſeruice. And ſo both that company of them which fled out of *London*, as alſo *Graunt* and his complices met all together at *Dunchurch* at Sir *Euerard Digby* his lodging the Tueſday at night, after the diſcouerie of this treacherous Attempt: The which

The taking of the horſes out of the ſtable at Warwicke by *Graunt* and others.

which *Digby* had likewiſe for his part appointed a match of hunting to haue bene hunted the next day, which was Wedneſday, though his mind was *Nimrod*-like vpon a farre other maner of hunting, more bent vpon the blood of reaſonable men then bruite beaſts.

The hunting match appointed by Sir *Everard Digby*.

This companie and helliſh ſocietie thus conuened, finding their purpoſe diſcouered, and their treacherie preuented, did reſolue to run a deſperate courſe, and ſince they could not preuaile by ſo priuate a Blow, to practiſe by a publike Rebellion either to attaine to their Intents, or at leaſt to ſaue themſelues in the throng of others. And therefore gathering all the company they could vnto them, and pretending the quarrell of Religion, hauing intercepted ſuch prouiſion of Armour, Horſes, and Powder, as the time could permit, thought by running vp and downe the Countrey both to augment peece and peece their number (dreaming to themſelues that they had the vertue of a Snow-ball, which being little at the firſt, and tumbling downe from a great hill groweth to a great quantity, by encreaſing it ſelfe with the Snow that it

Their going into armes after the Plot diſcouered.

meeteth by the way) and alſo that they beginning firſt this braue ſhewe in one part of the countrey, ſhould by their Sympathy and example ſtirre vp and encourage the reſt of their Religion in other parts of *England* to riſe, as they had done there. But when they had gathered their force to the greateſt, they came not to the number of foureſcore, & yet were they troubled all the houres of the day to keepe and containe their owne ſeruants from ſtealing from them; who (notwithſtanding of all their care) dayly left them, being farre inferior to *Gedeons* hoſte in number, but farre more in faith or iuſtneſſe of quarell.

Their number neuer aboue foure ſcore.

And ſo after that this Catholicke troupe had wandered a while through *Warwicke* ſhire to *Worceſter* ſhire, and from thence to the edge and borders of *Stafford* ſhire, this gallantly armed band had not the honour at the laſt to be beaten with a Kings Lieutenant or extraordinary Commiſsioner ſent downe for the purpoſe, but onely by the ordinary Shiriffe of *Worceſter* ſhire were they all beaten, killed, taken and diſperſed. Wherein ye haue to note this following circumſtance ſo admira-

Their flight.

admirable, and ſo viuely diſplaying the greatneſſe of Gods iuſtice, as it could not be concealed without betraying in a maner the glory due to the Almightie for the ſame.

Although diuers of the Kings Proclamations were poſted downe after theſe Traitors with all the ſpeede poſsible, declaring the odiouſneſſe of that bloody attempt, the neceſſitie to haue had *Percy* preſerued aliue, if it had been poſsible, and the aſſembly together of that rightly damned crew, now no more darned Conſpirators, but open and auowed Rebels: yet the far diſtance of the way (which was aboue an hundred miles) together with the extreme deepeneſſe thereof, ioyned alſo with the ſhortneſſe of the day, was the cauſe that the heartie and louing affections of the Kings good Subiects in thoſe parts preuented the ſpeed of his Proclamations. For vpon the third day after the flying downe of theſe Rebels, which was vpon the Friday next after the diſcouerie of their Plot, they were moſt of them all ſurprized by the Shiriffe of *Worceſter* ſhire at *Holbeach*, about the noone of the day, and that in manner following.

Ouertaken at *Holbeach* in Stafford ſhire, *Stephen Littletons* houſe.

Graunt, of whom I haue made mention before for taking the great horſes, who had not all the preceding time ſtirred from his owne houſe till the next morning after the attempt ſhould haue beene put in execution, he then laying his accompt without his Hoſt (as the prouerbe is) that their Plot had, without failing, receiued the day before their hoped for ſucceſſe; Tooke, or rather ſtole out thoſe horſes (as I ſaid before) for enabling him, and ſo many of that ſouleſſe ſocietie that had ſtil remained in the Countrey neere about him, to make a ſudden ſurpriſe vpon the Kings elder daughter, the Lady ELIZABETH, hauing her reſidence nere by that place, whom they thought to haue vſed for the colour of their treacherous deſigne (His Maieſtie her father, her mother, and male children being all deſtroyed aboue.) And to this purpoſe alſo had that *Nimrod Digby*, prouided his hunting match againſt that ſame time, that numbers of people being flocked together vpon the pretence thereof, they might the eaſilier haue brought to paſſe the ſudden ſurpriſe of her perſon.

Graunts attempt to ſurpriſe the Lady *Elizabeth.*

Now

Now the violent taking away of thoſe horſes long before day, did ſeeme to be ſo great a ryot in the eyes of the Common people, that knewe of no greater myſtery: And the bold attempting thereof did ingender ſuch a ſuſpicion of ſome following Rebellion in the hearts of the wiſer ſort, as both great and ſmall began to ſtirre and arme themſelues, vpon this vnlooked for accident. Among whom Sir *Fulke Greuill* the elder, Knight, as became one both ſo ancient in yeeres and good reputation, and by his Office being Deputie Lieutenant of Warwicke-ſhire, though vnhable in his body, yet by the zeale and true feruencie of his minde, did firſt apprehend this foreſaid Riot to be nothing but the ſparkles and ſure *indices* of a following Rebellion; whereupon both ſtoutly and honeſtly hee tooke order to get into his owne hands, the Munition and Armor of all ſuch Gentlemen about him, as were either abſent from their owne houſes, or in doubtfull guard; And alſo ſent ſuch direction to the Townes about him, as thereupon did follow the ſtriking of *Winter* by a poore Smith, who

had

had likewiſe bene taken by thoſe vulgar people, but that he was reſcued by the reſt of his company, who perceiuing that the Countrey before them had notice of them, haſtened away with loſſe in their owne ſight, Sixteene of their folowers being taken by the Townesmen, and ſent preſently to the Sheriffe at Warwicke, and from thence to London.

But before twelue or ſixteene houres paſt, *Catesby*, *Percy*, the *Winters*, *Wrights*, *Rookewood* and the reſt bringing then the aſſurance that their maine Plot was failed and bewrayed, whereupon they had builded the golden mountaines of their glorious hopes: They then tooke their laſt deſperate reſolution to flocke together in a troupe, & wander, as they did, for the reaſons aforetold. But as vpon the one part, the zealous duety to their God and their Souereigne was ſo deepely imprinted in the hearts of all the meaneſt and pooreſt ſort of the people (although then knowing of no further myſterie then ſuch publike misbehauiours, as their owne eyes taught them) as notwithſtanding of their faire ſhewes and pretence of their Catho-

Catholicke cauſe, no creature, man or woman through all the Countrey, would once ſo much as giue them willingly a cup of drinke, or any ſort of comfort or ſupport, but with execrations deteſted them: So on the other part, the Shiriffes of the Shires, wherethrough they wandered, conuening their people with all ſpeede poſsible, hunted as hotly after them, as the euilneſſe of the way, and the vnprouidedneſſe of their people vpon that ſudden could permit them. And ſo at laſt after Sir *Richard Verney*, Shiriffe of *Warwicke* ſhire, had carefully and ſtraightly beene in chaſe of them to the confines of his Countie, part of the meaner ſort being alſo apprehended by him: Sir *Richard Walſh* Shiriffe of *Worceſter* ſhire did likewiſe duetifully and hotly purſue them thorowe his Shire; And hauing gotten ſure tryall of their taking harbour at the houſe abouenamed, hee did ſend Trumpetters and Meſſengers to them, commaunding them in the Kings name to render vnto him, his Maieſties miniſter; and knowing no more at that time of their guilt then was publikely viſible,

did promiſe vpon their duetifull and obedient rendring vnto him, to intercede at the Kings handes for the ſparing of their liues: Who receiued onely from them this ſcornefull anſwere (they being better witneſſes to themſelues of their inward euill conſciences) *That he had neede of better aſsiſtance, then of thoſe few numbers that were with him, before he could be able to commaund or comptroll them.*

The preparation to aſſault the houſe.

But here fel the wonderous worke of Gods Iuſtice, That while this meſſage paſſed betweene the Sheriffe and them, The Sheriffes and his peoples zeale being iuſtly kindled and augmented by their arrogant anſwere, and ſo they preparing themſelues to giue a furious aſſault; and the other partie making themſelues ready within the houſe to performe their promiſe by a defence as reſolute; It pleaſed God that in the mending of the fire in their chamber, one ſmall ſparke ſhould flie out, and light among leſſe then two pound weight of Powder, which was drying a little from the chimney; which beeing thereby blowen vp, ſo maymed the faces of ſome of the principal Rebels, and the hands and ſides

of

of others of them (blowing vp with it alſo a great bag full of Powder, which notwithſtanding neuer tooke fire) as they were not onely diſabled and diſcouraged hereby from any further reſiſtance, in reſpect *Catesby* himſelfe, *Rookwood*, *Grant*, & diuers others of greateſt accompt, among them were thereby made vnable for defence: but alſo wonderfully ſtroken with amazement in their guilty conſciences, calling to memory how God had iuſtly puniſhed them with that ſame Inſtrument, which they ſhould haue vſed for the effectuating of ſo great a ſinne, according to the old Latin ſaying, *In quo peccamus, in eodem plectimur*; as they preſently (ſee the wonderfull power of Gods Iuſtice vpon guiltie conſciences) did all fall downe vpon their knees, praying GOD to pardon them for their bloody enterprize; And thereafter giuing ouer any further debate, opened the gate, ſuffered the Sheriffes people to ruſh in furiouſly among them, & deſperately ſought their owne preſent deſtruction; The three ſpecials of them ioyning backs together, *Catesbie*, *Percy*, and *Winter*, whereof two

Catesby who was the firſt inuentor of this Treaſon in generall, and of the manner of working the ſame by powder, in ſpecial, himſelfe now firſt maimed with the blowing vp of powder, and next he and *Percy* both killed with one ſhot proceeding from powder.

with one ſhot, *Catesby* and *Percy* were ſlaine, and the third, *Winter*, taken and ſaued aliue.

And thus theſe reſolute and high aſpiring Catholikes, who dreamed of no leſſe then the deſtruction of Kings & kingdomes, and promiſed to themſelues no lower eſtate then the gouernment of great and ancient Monarchies; were miſerably defeated, and quite ouerthrowne in an inſtant, falling in the pit which they had prepared for others; and ſo fulfilling that ſentence which his Maieſtie did in a manner prophecie of them in his Oration to the Parliament: ſome preſently ſlaine, others deadly wounded, ſtripped of their clothes, left lying miſerably naked, and ſo dying rather of colde, then of the danger of their wounds; and the reſt that either were whole, or but lightly hurt, taken and led priſoners by the Sheriffe the ordinarie miniſter of Iuſtice, to the Gaole, the ordinarie place euen of the baſeſt malefactors, where they remained till their ſending vp to London, beeing met with a huge confluence of people of all ſorts, deſirous to ſee them as the rareſt ſort of Monſters; fooles to laugh

laugh at them, women and children to wonder, all the common people to gaze, the wiſer ſort to ſatisfie their curioſitie in ſeeing the outward caſes of ſo vnheard of a villany: and generally all ſorts of people to ſatiate and fill their eyes with the ſight of them, whom in their hearts they ſo farre admired and deteſted: Seruing ſo for a fearefull and publike ſpectacle of Gods fierce wrath and iuſt indignation.

What hereafter will be done with them, is to be left to the Iuſtice of his Maieſty and the State. Which as no good Subiect needes to doubt will bee performed in the owne due time by a publike and an exemplarie puniſhment: So haue wee all that are faithfull and humble ſubiects, great cauſe to pray earneſtly to the Almightie, that it wil pleaſe him who hath the hearts of all Princes in his hands, to put it in his Maieſties heart to make ſuch a concluſion of this Tragedie to the Traytors, but tragicomedie to the King and all his true Subiects; as thereby the glory of God and his true Religion may bee aduanced, the future ſecuritie of the King and his eſtate procured

and prouided for, all hollow and vnhoneſt hearts diſcouered and preuented, and this horrible attempt (lacking due epithites) to bee ſo iuſtly auenged, That where they thought by one Catholike indeed, and Vniuerſall blowe to accompliſh the wiſh of that Romane Tyrant, who wiſhed all the bodies in Rome to haue but one necke, and ſo by the violent force of Powder to breake vp as with a Pettard our triple locked peacefull gates of *Ianus*, which (God be thanked) they could not compaſſe by any other meanes; they may iuſtly bee ſo recompenſed for their truely viperous intended Parricide, as the ſhame and infamie that otherwiſe would light vpon this whole Nation, for hauing vnfortunately hatched ſuch Cockatrice egges, may be repaired by the execution of famous and honourable iuſtice vpon the offendours, and ſo the Kingdome purged of them, may hereafter perpetually flouriſh in peace and proſperitie, by the happie coniunction of the hearts of all honeſt and true Subiects, with their iuſt and religious Soueraigne.

As *Aeneas Syluius* doth notably write concerning the murther of King *Iames* the firſt of *Scotland*, and the following puniſhment of the Traytors, whereof himſelfe was an eye witneſſe. *Hiſt. de Europa, cap. 46.*

And thus whereas they thought to haue effaced

effaced our memories, the memorie of them ſhall remaine (but to their perpetuall infamy) and we (as I ſaid in the beginning) ſhall with all thankfulneſſe eternally preſerue the memorie of ſo great a benefit. To which let euery good ſubiect ſay

Amen.

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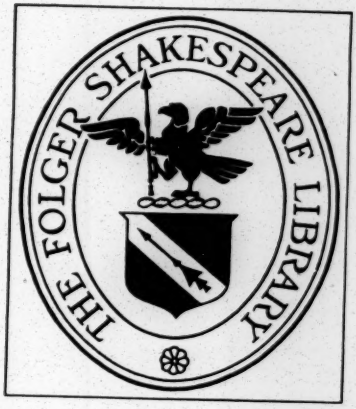
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